

Message Text

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15

ACTION AF-06

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 IO-10 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02

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FM AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1646
INFO AMEMBASSY BLANTYRE
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY GABORONE
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
USMISSION USUN

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EO 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, WF, SA

SUBJECT: REACTION TO VORSTER'S WINDHOEK SPEECH

REF: LUSAKA 0940

1. DURING MAY 22 MEETING WITH EMBOFFS, SWAPO PRESIDENT SAM NUJOMA CONFIRMED HIS ORGANIZATION'S NEGATIVE REACTION TO VORSTER SPEECH. NUJOMA HAD NOT YET SEEN FULL TEXT OF VORSTER SPEECH SO WE GAVE HIM COPY OF CAPE TOWN 573. AFTER SCANNING TEXT, NUJOMA STILL OF OPINION SPEECH OFFERS NOTHING NEW NOR REPRESENTS ANY NARROWING OF GAP BETWEEN SOUTH AFRICAN POSITION AND THAT OF SWAPO. NUJOMA IS LEAVING TODAY ON WAY TO NEW YORK WHERE HE PLANS BE ON HANN FOR UNSC DEBATE ON NAMIBIA EARLY JUNE.

2. WHILE ZAMBIAN GOVT REACTION TO VORSTER SPEECH NOT YET

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EXPRESSED OFFICIALLY, WE CONSIDER DAILY MAIL EDITORIAL

(REFTEL) REFLECTS MORE CLOSELY VIEWS OF STATE HOUSE (AND MAY WELL HAVE BEEN WRITTEN THERE) THAN DOES HARDLINE APPROACH TAKEN BY TIMES. ZAMBIAN LEADERS MAY HAVE ENCOURAGED "GOOD GUY, BAD GUY" PRESS EDITORIALS SO AS TO underscore URGENCY FOR VORSTER IN CLARIFYING HIS POSITION ON OUTSTANDING POINTS OF DIFFERENCE. HOWEVER, MODERATE AND RELATIVELY ANALYTICAL ASSESSMENT OF VORSTER SPEECH CONTAINED MAIL EDITORIAL SUGGESTS KAUNDA AND HIS ADVISERS MAY STILL SEE SOME ELEMENTS OF POTENTIAL FLEXIBILITY IN SOUTH AFRICAN POLICY TOWARD NAMIBIA. IMPLICATION IN EDITORIAL THAT BANTUSTANS COULD FORNMOASIS FOR "ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS" ALTHOUGH NOT "CONSTITUTIONAL ENTITIES" IN A UNITARY NAMIBIAN STATE COULD REPRESENT IMGAGINATIVE ZAMBIAN TRIAL BALLOON TO SEE IF THERE IS SOME WAY OF BRIDGING THIS PARTICULAR GAP. OUR ATTEMPT PROBE THIS POINT WITH SAM NUJOMA, HOWEVER, BROUGHT ONLY HIS RESPONSE THAT BANTUSTANS IN ANY FORM, EVEN DURING TRANSITIONAL PERIOD, ARE UNACCEPTABLE TO SWAPO.

3. ZAMBians HAVE ANOTHER REASON FOR WANTING PUT VORSTER SPEECH IN AS REASONABLE A LIGHT AS POSSIBLE. ADMISSBTN THAT WINDHOEK SPEECH REPRESENTS FINAL SAG POSITION ON NAMIBIA WOULD BE DAMAGING TO AN UNDERLYING PREMISE OF ZAMBIAN POLICY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, NAMELY THAT VORSTER HAS MADE REALISTIC APPRIASAL OF SOUTH AFRICA'S TRUE LONG TERM INTERESTS AND IS PREPARED TO PULL OUT OF RHODESIA AND SOUTH WEST AFRICA IF SUITABLE FACE-SAVING FORMULAE CAN BE FOUND. LOGICALLY, ZAMBians WILL NOW WISH EXPLORE WHETHER WINDHOEK SPEECH MEANS THAT ON NAMIBIA VORSTER IS NOT PREPARED TO TAKE SAME FORTHRIGHT APPROACH AS THEY BELIEVE HE HAS TO DATE ON RHODESIA. THEY MAY ALSO FEAR THAT SHARP AND HASTY AFRICAN REACTION TO WINDHOEK SQEECH, INCLUDING PRESSURE WITHIN UN AND OAU FOR SANCTIONS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA, MAY ENBEBYH ZRENGTHENING HAND OF VERKRAMPTe ELEMENTS THERE. THIS IN TURN MIGHT MAKE VORSTER LESS ABLE OR LESS WILLING TO CONTINUE BE HALPFUL AND FORTHCOMING ON RHODESIAN PROBLEM.

4. THIS ANALYSIS DOES NOT MEAN TO SUGGEST ZAMBians WILL NOT AGREE TO CONDEMN SOUTH AFRICAN POLICY IN NAMIBIA OR TO SUPPORT AFRICAN MOVE IN UN TO BRING ADDITIONAL PRESSURES TO LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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BEAR ON VORSTER. THEY WILL, IF THAT APPEARS TO BE CONSENSUS WITHIN OAU. DURING REMAINING WEEK BEFORE UNSC EXPECTED TO MEET, HOWEVER, ZAMBians ARE LIKELY BE MAKING ONE LAST ATTEMPT TO IMPRESS ON VORSTER URGENT IMPORTANCE OF HIS ASSUMING MORE FORTHCOMING POSTURE ON NAMIBIA, ESPECIALLY ON KEY ISSUES OF ROLES FOR UN AND SWAPO.

MAY

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